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# Gemeinde ohne Tempel Community without Temple

Zur Substituierung und Transformation  
des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults  
im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum  
und frühen Christentum

Herausgegeben von  
Beate Ego, Armin Lange  
und Peter Pilhofer

in Zusammenarbeit mit  
Kathrin Ehlers

Mohr Siebeck

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# Visions of the Temple in the *Book of Jubilees*

J. T. A. G. M. VAN RUITEN, Groningen

The *Book of Jubilees* is presented as a revelation which Moses received at Mount Sinai. It actually consists of a rewriting and interpretation of the biblical narrative from Genesis 1 to Exodus 16. In this paper I confine myself to one aspect of the book, namely the occurrence of holy places. I will begin with a short survey of the *Book of Jubilees*, where in one way or another holy places are mentioned. Then I will concentrate on one aspect of it, namely the conception of Eden as a sanctuary, and finally I will deal with the connection of Eden and the sanctuary in the Old Testament and early Jewish literature as possible background of the concept in the *Book of Jubilees*.<sup>1</sup>

## I. Holy Places in the *Book of Jubilees*

With regard to the holy places different terms and expressions are used. There are texts that mention the term “sanctuary”. This word is used in different forms: the absolute form “sanctuary” (*maqdas*: 3:10, 13; 4:25; 49:20), with suffix “my sanctuary” (*maqdasja*: 1:10, 17, 27) and some construct forms: “sanctuary of the Lord”: (*maqdasā ʿegziābeher*: 1:29; *maqdasu laʿegziābeher*: 49:16 [2x], 17, 18); “sanctuary of your God” (*maqdasu laʾamlākkemu*/: 49:17); “sanctuary of the Lord your God” (*maqdasu laʿegziābeher ʾamlākkemu*: 50:11). Closely related to the sanctuary is the phrase “Holy of Holies,” which occurs two times (*qeddesta qeddusān*: 8:19; *qeddesata qedus*: 23:21). One time the expression “eternal sanctuary” (*maqdasā zalaʾālam*: 32:22) is used. Some texts speak about the “house” (*bet*: 49:19), “the house in which His name has resided” (*bet ḥaba ḥadara sema ziʾahu*: 49:21), about the “tabernacle” (*dabtarāja*: 1:10; *dabtarā ʿegziābeher*: 49:18 [2x], 21), or simply about “place” (*makān*: 4:26). Nearly all the other holy places mentioned are simply called “altar” (*mešwā*: 6:1, 3 [2x]; 7:4 [3x], 5 [2x]; 13:4, 8, 9, 15; 16:20, 31; 21:7 [3x], 8, 13, 16; 49:20 [2x]). The occurrences of “altar” run quite parallel to the biblical text, only a few times the author of *Jubilees* adds “on the mountain”.<sup>2</sup> The terms that are related with

<sup>1</sup> Quotations from *Jubilees* are from VANDERKAM, *Jubilees*, vol. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See: 6:1; 13:8. Cf. “the mountain of incense” (4:25).

the term "sanctuary" are used mainly in the beginning (*Jubilees* 1) and at the end of the book (*Jubilees* 49–50). In between the text speaks mostly about "altars".

With regard to these sanctuaries and altars some *activities* are mentioned. Firstly, some texts speak about a defilement of the sanctuary. In *Jub.* 1:10: "They *abandoned* my statues ... and my tabernacle, and my sanctuary which I sanctified for myself in the middle of the land ... They made themselves high places, sacred groves ..." In *Jub.* 23:21: "They will *defile* the Holy of Holies with the impure corruption of their contamination."

Secondly, an activity of the Lord is mentioned. He has sanctified the sanctuary for Himself in the middle of the land, so that He could place His name on it and that it could live there (see 1:10). After the defilement He will build a new sanctuary among them and then He will live with them (1:17). Connected with the building of the sanctuary by the Lord are the passive forms which speak about the building of the new sanctuary in the new creation. In 1:27: "the time when my sanctuary *is built* among them," 1:29: "until the time when the sanctuary of the Lord *will be created* in Jerusalem on Mount Zion," and 4:25: "Mount Zion will be sanctified in the new creation for the sanctification of the earth."

Thirdly, some activities with regard to the sanctuary are concerned with *halakhot*. Women in their impurity or in the blood of purification may not enter the sanctuary (3:13), Passover should be celebrated inside the sanctuary (49:18–21). Finally, on Sabbath it is permitted to bring offers in the sanctuary (50:10–11).

As far as the *altars* are concerned, they are built by human beings, Noah (6:1) and Abraham (13:4, 8; 16:20), on a mountain, and different sorts of sacrifices are offered. Noah (6:2–3; 7:3–5), Abraham (13:4, 9, 16; 16:22–24) and Jacob and Levi (32:4–6) bring burnt offerings, peace offerings and offers of incense. Abraham celebrates the festival of tabernacles (16:20–31). With regard to the *future Temple* no offerings are explicitly mentioned (1:17, 27, 29; 4:26).

The holy places can be differentiated with regard to the aspect of *time*. Sometimes the text mentions holy places *before the building of the Temple*: a sanctuary in Eden, the altars on which Noah, Abraham and Jacob offered sacrifices, and the tabernacle. Other texts (1:10; 23:21) speak about the *Temple*, which is located in Jerusalem, although this name is nowhere explicitly used. This Temple is defiled by impure corruption. It is difficult to determine whether these texts refer to a specific historical reality, or not. The text of 1:10 is part of a deuteronomistic passage<sup>3</sup> and the passage could

<sup>3</sup> For the deuteronomistic elements in *Jubilees* 1 and 23, see KNIBB, *Jubilees*. For the deuteronomistic pattern of sin, punishment, repentance, and blessing, see IDEM, "Exile," 264–8.

be related to the time of the First Temple.<sup>4</sup> However, the passage can hardly be intended for any generation other than that of the author of *Jubilees*.<sup>5</sup> In 23:21 the civil war among the Israelites themselves might reflect the experience of schismatic strife in the Hellenistic period.<sup>6</sup> Finally, there is a *future, an eschatological Temple*. After the people will return to the Lord, He will build His sanctuary among them and He will dwell with them (1:17). This sanctuary will be built in the new creation in Jerusalem on Mount Zion (1:27, 29; 4:26).

The different holy spots are *located* in different places. A few times Jerusalem and Zion are mentioned. In 1:28 it is stated that the Lord will be “the King on Mount Zion. Then Zion and Jerusalem will become holy”. In 1:29 it is said that the sanctuary of the Lord will be created “in Jerusalem on Mount Zion”. Also 4:26 and 8:19 speak about Mount Zion, among other holy places, in 8:19 with the specification “in the middle of the navel of the earth”. Sometimes the author speaks less specified about Mount Zion: “my sanctuary in the middle of the land” (1:10), “a sanctuary among them”. The other holy places mentioned are located in the Garden of Eden (3:12; 4:26; 8:19), Sinai (4:26; 8:19), Lubar, one of the mountains of the Ararat, on which Noah makes an altar (6:1; cf. 5:28), Bethel (13:15; 32:1–9) and Beersheba (16:20), the holy places of Abraham and Jacob.

In his rewriting of Gen 9:27, the blessing of Japheth, the author of *Jubilees* makes clear that God lives not only in Jerusalem, but also elsewhere in the dwelling-places of Shem. The biblical text runs as follows: “May God enlarge Japheth, and let him (Japheth) dwell in the tents of Shem.” In his rewriting the author of *Jubilees* puts it as follows: “May the Lord enlarge Japheth, and may *the Lord* live in the tents of Shem” (7:12).<sup>7</sup> In 4:26 the author speaks about *four* places that belong to the Lord (the Garden of Eden,<sup>8</sup> the mountain

<sup>4</sup> CHARLES, 4, on *Jub* 1:10 states that *Jub.* 1:10–13 depict the two great catastrophes which befell Israel and Judah. In v. 10 the partial destruction and the captivity of Israel are described, in v. 11, the northern kingdom had forsaken the law, the festivals and the Temple in Jerusalem. DAVENPORT, 24, disagrees with CHARLES. According to him *Jubilees* “omitted those verses from biblical sources that would make such a distinction”. The fall of Israel is a single historical occurrence.

<sup>5</sup> So DAVENPORT, 27; cf. BERGER, 312.

<sup>6</sup> So also CHARLES, 148 on *Jub.* 23:21; TESTUZ, 167; DAVENPORT, 15, 29 n. 2, 43–5; HENGEL, 411. The reference, however, is not abundantly clear. Cf. the contribution of Avemarie in this volume, 395.

<sup>7</sup> Gen 9:27 does not have an explicit subject for שׁכֵן, although Japheth is most probably implied. *Jubilees* specifies the subject as the Lord. *Targum Onkelos* has “his divine presence” (שְׁכִינְתִּיהָ).

<sup>8</sup> The Syriac tradition reads “the mountain of paradise”. In favour of this reading one can point to the fact that the places in the list include only mountains. Mountains are appropriate places for the descents of God. If one changes the reading in 4:26, than one should also change 8:19. Cf. VANDERKAM, *Enoch and the Growth*, 187.

of the East,<sup>9</sup> Sinai,<sup>10</sup> Zion), in 8:19 he speaks about *three* holy places (the Garden of Eden, Sinai, Zion). However, elsewhere in his book the author of *Jubilees* speaks with much more hesitation of the dwelling of God. With regard to the actual Temple the author of *Jubilees* states that God has set His name on it (1:10; cf. 49:21). It is only with regard to the sanctuary of Eden and with regard to a future Temple that *Jubilees* speaks about the dwelling of God himself. There are different places on earth that belong to the Lord, but only with regard to Eden it is said that "it is the *dwelling-place* of the Lord". And with regard to the future Temple it is said: "I will build my sanctuary among them and I will  *dwell* with them" (1:17); "my sanctuary is built among them" (1:27), that is "in Jerusalem on Mount Zion" (1:29).

This short survey shows that the author of *Jubilees* speaks in a negative way of the Temple, whether it be the first or the second. The defilement of the present sanctuary makes it unsuitable of being the authentic holy place.<sup>11</sup> He speaks in a positive way of the sanctuaries and holy places *before* the Temple, i. e. Eden, and the mountains on which Noah, Abraham and Jacob offered, and *after* it, in the new creation. Only as far as the author speaks about the eschatological Temple, Jerusalem and Mount Zion are mentioned. Only with regard to Eden and to a future Temple it is said that it is the dwelling-place of the Lord.

## II. The Sanctuary of Eden

I will concentrate now, more closely, on the connection between the Temple and the Garden of Eden in the *Book of Jubilees*. The Garden of Eden is a holy place, more holy than any land (3:12), it is a place that belongs to the Lord (4:26), and that is conceived as "the Holy of Holies and the residence of the Lord" (8:19). In comparison with the story of the Garden of Eden in the Old Testament, this is a striking theme. It means that the Garden of Eden is seen as a temple, or more precise a part of the Temple, the room which is in the rear of the Temple, where the ark of the covenant of the Lord is placed, and which is often called "Holy of Holies".<sup>12</sup> The interpretation of Eden as a temple has important consequences for the rewriting of Genesis in the *Book of Jubilees*.

<sup>9</sup> The identification of the mountain of the East has aroused much discussion. For an overview of the different opinions, see FREY, 273–6.

<sup>10</sup> In 1:2 it is stated that "the glory of the Lord took up residence on Mt. Sinai". The *Book of Jubilees* is presented as a revelation which Moses received at this mount. It is regarded as a sanctuary possibly on the basis of Exod 3:1; 18:5; 24:13 etc. ("the mountain of God") and 3:5 ("the holy ground"). Cf. FREY, 273.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. DAVENPORT, 29 n. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. ANDERSON, 129; BAUMGARTEN, 3–10; EGO, 211–5; HAYWARD, 6–7; VAN RUITEN, "Garden," 311–2.

Firstly, Adam *burned incense* at the gate of the Garden of Eden (3:27: “On that day, as he was leaving the Garden of Eden, he burned incense as a pleasing fragrance – frankincense, galbanum, stacte, and aromatic spices – in the early morning when the sun rose at the time he covered his shame”). According to Exodus the incense is burned in front of the Holy of Holies.<sup>13</sup>

Secondly, the burning of incense is a privilege given to the priests, the sons of Aaron.<sup>14</sup> That means that according to the author of *Jubilees* Adam is acting as prototype of a priest. Related with this is the covering of the nakedness (3:27, 30–31), which is a condition for offering. The priests are explicitly bidden to cover their nakedness.<sup>15</sup>

Thirdly, because of the conception of Eden as a sanctuary, the author has difficulties with the view that the consummation of the sexual relationship of Adam and Eve took place inside the garden.<sup>16</sup> We know from the Book of Exodus that before the descent and revelation of the Lord on Mount Sinai, the men of Israel should not come near to a woman for three days (Exod 19:15). And in the Book of Leviticus it is stated that after having intercourse, the man is unclean until the evening, and he shall not eat of the holy things unless he has bathed his body in water.<sup>17</sup> Some Qumran texts show a strict application of these laws: after having sex it is not allowed to enter in the city of the Temple for three days.<sup>18</sup> This view has a very important consequence for the rewriting of the biblical story of the Garden of Eden in the *Book of Jubilees*, namely that Adam and Eve are created not inside, but outside the Garden of Eden. This means that the first sexual marital relation between Adam and Eve does not take place in the Garden of Eden, but *before* they enter. Only forty days after their first sexual relation Adam can enter the garden and his wife must wait eighty days. The second sexual relation took place only in the second jubilee, a long time after they have left the Garden of Eden (3:34). This means that laws concerning the Temple are applied to the Garden of Eden.

In the *Book of Jubilees* the entrance of Adam and Eve into the Garden of Eden is explicitly related to the law concerning the woman who is giving

<sup>13</sup> See Exod 30:7–8, 34–8; Num 16:39–40; 2 Chr 26:16–20.

<sup>14</sup> See preceding note.

<sup>15</sup> See Exod 20:26; 28:42. According to the author of *Jubilees* the meaning of Gen 3:21 (cf. *Jub.* 3:26) is that God has clothed the man in *priestly* clothing. The use of כְּתוּנֹת עוֹר offers him the opportunity for this interpretation. Among the things in which the priests are dressed are also the כְּתוּנֹת. See EGO, 215; LAMBDEN, 82; LEVISON, 93–5; VAN RUITEN, “Garden,” 316.

<sup>16</sup> See ANDERSON, 128–31.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Lev 15:18; 22:4–7.

<sup>18</sup> 11QT<sup>a</sup> 45:11–2 (“Anyone who lies with his wife and has an ejaculation, for three days shall not enter anywhere in the city of the Temple in which I shall install my name ...”); CD 11:21–12:2 (“... And everyone who enters the house of prostration should not enter with impurity requiring washing ... No man should sleep with his wife in the city of the Temple, defiling the city of the Temple with their impurity”); 4Q274 (“If a man has an emission of semen, his touch transmits impurity”); cf. BAUMGARTEN, 7; MILGROM, 59–68.

birth in Leviticus 12. The mother observes seven days of impurity and thirty-three days of purification for a boy, and fourteen days of impurity and sixty-six of purification after the birth of a girl. The holiness of Eden is explicitly related to the holiness of the Temple:

“We (the angels) brought her into the Garden of Eden because it is the holiest in the entire earth, and every tree which is planted in it is holy. For this reason the law of these days has been ordained for the one who gives birth to a male or a female. She is not to touch any sacred thing or to enter the sanctuary until the time when those days for a male or a female are completed” (3:12).

Another indicator in the book that shows that the writer conceived Eden as a temple is the fact that also Enoch who was led from among the children of men, was brought by the angels into the Garden of Eden for his greatness and honour. There he is not only “writing down the judgement and condemnation of the world,” but also he is burning incense, probably inside, maybe at the gate of the garden, on the mountain of incense.<sup>19</sup> Whereas Adam burned incense in the morning, Enoch is burning the *incense* of the evening of the sanctuary.<sup>20</sup> The motif of Enoch as a priest is not attested prior than *Jubilees*. It fits in with the tendency of *Jubilees* that makes all the important patriarchs in the line of Seth priests. Also Adam functions as a priest.<sup>21</sup>

### III. The Garden of Eden as a Temple in the Old Testament

There is a tradition-historical relationship between the Garden of Eden and the Temple, also prior to the *Book of Jubilees*, but it is difficult to fix certain texts, which could have influenced *Jubilees*. Firstly, there are places in the Old Testament where the term “Eden” or the phrase “Garden of Eden” occurs. The noun “Eden” (singular) occurs 13 times in the Old Testament. Six times in Genesis 2–4 (Gen 2:8, 10, 15; 3:23, 24; 4:16), seven times in prophetic texts (Isa 51:3; Ezek 28:13; 31:9, 16, 18; 36:35; Joel 2:3).<sup>22</sup> Often it goes together in one way or another with the word “garden” (Gen 2:8, 15; 3:23, 24; Ezek 36:35; Joel 2:3) or with the phrase the “garden of God,” or “the garden of the Lord” (Gen 13:10; Isa 51:3; Ezek 28:13; 31:8 [2x], 9). A few times the “garden of God” occurs without “Eden”.

The plain text of Genesis 2–3 seems to speak about the Garden of Eden as a living-place for men (Gen 2:8: “And the Lord God planted a garden in Eden,

<sup>19</sup> The Ethiopic reads *badabra qatr*: the mountain of the noon, or the mountain of the south. The word *qatr*, however, is probably a corrupted transcription of קטר (= “incense”). So TISSERANT, 77; VANDERKAM, *Enoch and the Growth*, 187.

<sup>20</sup> The Syriac tradition reads “first” in stead of “sanctuary”. This is most probably a corruption. See VANDERKAM, *Jubilees*, 2.28 n.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. VANDERKAM, *Enoch and the Growth*, 186.

<sup>22</sup> The noun occurs also in the plural: 2 Sam 1:24; Jer 51:34; Ps 36:9.



in the east; and there he put the man whom he had formed"). Sometimes the Lord is present in the Garden of Eden. He creates the animals and the woman. Moreover, Gen 3:8 speaks about the Lord God "*walking* in the garden in the cool of the day". This could suggest that he is at home in the garden. However, the text does not speak about the Garden of Eden as "the Holy of Holies" or as "the *residence* of the Lord". That God works in the garden does not necessarily mean that he lives there. Moreover, the passage that speaks about God walking in the garden and communicating with the man and his wife (Gen 3:8–13) is omitted altogether by the author of *Jubilees*. Furthermore, in the rewriting of *Jubilees* neither man, nor the animals and the woman are created inside the garden, but outside it.

There are texts that speak about a former prosperity which has now disappeared, about the loss of a former glory. I point to Gen 13:10, where the area around Sodom and Gomorra before the destruction is compared to "the garden of the Lord". In Ezek 28:11–19 Ezekiel speaks about "Eden, the garden of God" (v. 13) as a mountain scenery (v. 14, 16) with precious stones. Man is now cast away from this garden because of his iniquity (v. 16–19). Elsewhere Ezekiel speaks about wonderful trees (31:6–9, 16–18). In Joel 2:3 it is stated that the land before the plague of locusts was like the "Garden of Eden," and after that a "desert". This loss of former glory is not the consequence of an arbitrary accident, but the consequence of the own guilt. The other texts speak about a future restored situation. In Ezek 36:35 the desolate land becomes "as the Garden of Eden," whereas God cleanses his people from all iniquities. The comfort of Zion in Isa 51:3 ("her wilderness" is made like "Eden, her desert like the garden of the Lord") is dominated by forgiveness and reconciliation.

It is noticeable that the phrases "Holy of Holies," and "the residence of the Lord" do not occur in any place in the Old Testament in connection with Eden. However, at least in one place there is an explicit connection between Mount Zion, the place of the Temple, and Eden. In Isa 51:3 a restored Zion is compared to Eden. Perhaps we should add to this Ezek 36:35, where the restored land, which includes Zion, is compared to Eden. Does this mean that in the Old Testament only as far as the text speaks about a future Zion, the name "Eden" is explicitly used? However, we should not overemphasise this point since in Joel 2:3 there seems to be a connection between Eden and the land before the destruction, whereas Ezek 28:11–19, which speaks about the loss of former glory, identifies Eden with "the holy mountain of God," although this seems not to be Zion.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> In Ugaritic mythology the holy mountain of the gods is Mount Zaphon in North Syria. Possibly in Ezek 28:11–9 there is a polemical transfer to the sanctuary of Zion. Cf. ALLEN, 95. BOGAERT, 139, however, states that an oracle originally relating to Jerusalem has been amplified and reapplied to Tyre. According to ZIMMERLI, 685, Israelite and Canaanite traditions have melted together.

There are other texts in which there might be an *implicit* connection between Zion and Eden. I point to texts in which the themes of natural abundance and of a fruitful river do occur, like e.g., Psalm 36 and Ezekiel 47 (a text that speaks about the river that flows out of the Temple, on both sides of the river were very many trees. Their leaves will not wither nor their fruit fail, but they will bear fresh fruit every month because the water for them flows from the sanctuary). However, the connection between the Temple and Eden remains rather vague, firstly because the name "Eden" is not mentioned in those texts, and secondly because the theme of natural abundance occurs quite often in the Old Testament, not only with regard to Zion or Eden.<sup>24</sup>

Although there seems to be a tradition-historical relation between the Garden of Eden and the Temple, it is nevertheless difficult to find places in the Old Testament where Eden is *explicitly* related to the Temple. Nowhere the word "temple," nor the Holy of Holies, nor the dwelling-place of the Lord is used in connection with Eden. Only once Eden is related to "Zion" (Isa 51:3) and once Eden is related with the "holy mountain" (Ezek 28:13–14), a few times with the "land" (Ezek 36:35; Joel 2:3). It is difficult to say if these texts have exert influence in the *Book of Jubilees*. As far as Ezek 28:11–19 is concerned, we can point to the conception of Eden as a mountain, which do occur also in *Jub.* 4:25, and to the role of Adam as a priest in *Jubilees* 3. Nevertheless there are many differences between Ezekiel 28 and the relevant passages in the *Book of Jubilees* as to wording and to content, e.g., the sin of the "son of man" is stressed in Ezek 28:11–19, whereas *Jubilees* would like to get rid of the sin of Adam. The indication of tension and alienation conveyed by the biblical version of Eden story is removed by the author of *Jubilees*.<sup>25</sup>

As far as Isa 51:3 is concerned, I would like to point to the very strong relationship of Isa 51:1–6 with Isa 65:17–25, a passage that speaks about the new creation of heaven and earth. The importance of these verses does not originate from interest in a new cosmos, though the creation of a new heaven and earth is given concrete form in the restoration of Jerusalem.<sup>26</sup> In this passage elements from Genesis 1, but also from Genesis 2–3 are used. I point to the serpent of Gen 3:14 in Isa 65:25, to the tree of long life (Isa 65:22; according to the versions: "the tree of life") and to the blessings in Isa 65:21–23, which form an alteration of the curse of Gen 3:18–19.<sup>27</sup> It is clear that Isa 65:17 has exerted influence on *Jub.* 1:29,<sup>28</sup> whereas other elements (e.g. Isa 65:20) play an important part in *Jubilees* 23. Therefore, it is possible that

<sup>24</sup> Cf. LEVENSON, 25–36.

<sup>25</sup> HALPERN-AMARU, 613.

<sup>26</sup> For an analysis of Isa 65:16b–25, see LAU, 134–41; MELL, 56–64; STECK, 349–65; VAN RUITEN, *Begin*, 41–62.

<sup>27</sup> See STECK, 357–63.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. MELL, 152–8.

these chapters have influenced as well the conception of Eden as a sanctuary in the *Book of Jubilees*.

#### IV. The Garden of Eden as a Temple in Early Jewish Literature

At several places in early Jewish literature, there is a relation between the Garden of Eden and the Temple. *1 Enoch* 24–27 is a section about the tree of life and the middle of the earth. It describes Jerusalem. In 25:3 the “throne of the Lord” is mentioned, in 25:5 “the house of the Lord, the eternal King,” and in 26:1 “the middle of the earth”. This last expression is borrowed from Ezek 5:5; 38:12, that refer to Jerusalem as the navel of the earth (cf. *Jub.* 8:12, 19). The passage probably describes the new Jerusalem. In the description much Eden imagery from Genesis 2–3 and Ez 28:11–19 is used.<sup>29</sup> In 24:1 the mountain of fire reminds of Ezek 28:14; the precious and beautiful stones in 24:2 refer to Ezek 28:13. The description of the tree in 24:5 (“this beautiful tree! Beautiful to look at and pleasant [are] its leaves, and its fruit very delightful in appearance”) is very similar to Gen 2:9; 3:6. In 25:4–5 occurs the tree of life, but with a remarkable difference with Genesis 2–3. In Gen 3:2–3 the woman said to the serpent: “From the fruit of the trees of the garden we may eat; but from the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden God said: You shall not eat from it neither shall you touch it, lest you die.” In *1 En* 25:4–5 the angel Michael said: “And this beautiful fragrant tree – and no (creature of) flesh has authority to touch it until the great judgement.” At that time “this will be given to the righteous and humble. From its fruit life will be given to the chosen.” The place is well watered (26:1–2). This might be influenced by Ezek 47:1–2, which describes the water coming out of the Temple. In this passage we have a clear example of a connection between the Garden of Eden and the Temple. It is curious, however, that neither the word Zion or Jerusalem is mentioned, nor the word (Garden of) Eden.

*T. Levi* 18:6 speaks about the heavenly Temple where God resides: “The heavens will be opened, and from the Temple the glory there will come on him.” The new priesthood of this Temple is related with Eden: “He (the new priest) will open the gates of Paradise and will stop the threatening sword since Adam. And he will give to the saints to eat from the tree of life” (18:10). Also in *T. Dan* 5:12 there is a connection between a future Jerusalem and Eden: “And the saints will rest in Eden and the righteous will rejoice in the new Jerusalem which will be the glory of God for ever.”<sup>30</sup> The connection of

<sup>29</sup> See VANDERKAM, *Enoch: A Man*, 55–8.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. also 4 Ezra 8:52 (“because it is for you that Paradise is opened, the tree of life is planted, the age to come is prepared, plenty is provided, a city is built, rest is appointed, goodness is established and wisdom is perfected beforehand”). The new Jerusalem and Paradise connected occur also in 2 Bar 4:3–7; Rev 22:2.

the Paradise with the new Jerusalem points to the identification of both. In *Apoc. Mos.* 29:1–6 Adam asked the angels to take fragrances from Paradise, so that after he had been driven out of Paradise he could continue to bring offerings to God.<sup>31</sup>

In the literature of Qumran, a few times (4Q174; 4Q265; 4Q421) the expression *מקדש אדם* is used. With regard to 4Q174 (= 4Q*Midrash on Eschatology*; olim 4Q*Florilegium*) the expression could mean a sanctuary built by men, or a sanctuary consisting of men.<sup>32</sup> According to some, however, this should be connected with Eden, that is to say, it is an epithet for the Garden of Eden.<sup>33</sup> Others suggest that the expression *מקדש אדם* is deliberately ambiguous, referring both to the sanctuary of men and the sanctuary of Adam. The community will be restored with the Garden of Eden. An elaborate *Urzeit* und *Endzeit* typology makes it possible to see the eschatological sanctuary as a restoration of the Garden of Eden.<sup>34</sup>

## Conclusions

*Jubilees* speaks in a negative way of the actual Temple. In a positive way it speaks about the former sanctuaries and about the *future* Temple in the new creation. Only with regard to Eden and with regard to a restored Zion the dwelling of the Lord is mentioned. The Old Testament speaks in two ways about Eden. First, it is applied to the loss of former glory, and secondly it is applied to a restoration in the future. Only with regard to the second application Eden is explicitly related to Zion. When Eden is connected with Jerusalem in early Jewish literature it is always concerned with the *future* Temple. My suggestion is that when the *Book of Jubilees* speaks about Eden, it does not mean the inauguration of all the sanctuaries in the history of Israel, but it is aimed at a future, eschatological Temple on Mount Zion. The actual Temple, like the actual creation, is deficient, it does not function as it should function. Therefore the author of *Jubilees* speaks about a restored Zion in a new creation. When he rewrites the story of Eden, he actually means to speak about a new Eden, a new creation, in which Zion will be restored.

## Zusammenfassung

Der vorliegende Aufsatz beschäftigt sich mit den einschlägigen Belegen zu heiligen Orten im Jubiläenbuch und gibt im ersten Abschnitt einen Überblick über die entsprechenden Texte. Es zeigt sich, daß das Jubiläenbuch

<sup>31</sup> Cf. MACH, 228 n. 314.

<sup>32</sup> An analysis of the literature in: BROOKE, 80–204; DIMANT, 165–89.

<sup>33</sup> BAUMGARTEN, 8–10; WISE, 123–32.

<sup>34</sup> See the contribution of BROOKE in this volume, 285.

vom gegenwärtigen Tempel in einer negativen Weise spricht, während frühere Heiligtümer (Eden; Berge, auf denen Noah, Abraham und Jakob opferten) und der zukünftige Tempel der Neuschöpfung positiv bewertet werden. Anschließend werden die Konzeption von Eden als Heiligtum sowie die sich daraus ergebenden Konsequenzen für die Umarbeitung des Schöpfungsberichtes im Jubiläenbuch (bes. in Jub 3) beschrieben. Der letzte Abschnitt analysiert die Verbindung von Eden und dem Heiligtum im Alten Testament und in der frühjüdischen Literatur. Das Alte Testament spricht von Eden im Zusammenhang mit dem Heiligtum auf dem Zion nur dann, wenn vom wiederhergestellten, zukünftigen Tempel die Rede ist; auch in der frühjüdischen Literatur wird Eden immer mit dem zukünftigen Tempel verbunden. Der Aufsatz vertritt die Ansicht, daß das Jubiläenbuch, wenn es von Eden spricht, nicht die Inauguration aller Heiligtümer in der Geschichte Israels meint, sondern auf einen zukünftigen, eschatologischen Tempel auf dem Zion zielt.

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